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The Person Marking System in Huaylas Quechua

by

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Report

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of the University of Texas at Austin  
in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

December, 2008

# The Person Marking System in Huaylas Quechua

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Patience L. Epps

For Laura, Itzel, and Baker,  
who believed in me and who were  
my inspiration to make this possible.

## **Acknowledgments**

I wish to express my gratitude to several people for their help in preparing this paper. I would like to thank the readers of this paper, Dr. Nora England and Dr. Pattie Epps for their helpful insights with this analysis. I would like to express my appreciation to Professor Megan Crowhurst and my classmates of Doctoral Forum for their helpful comments in the process of elaboration of this paper. Special thanks are due to B'alam Toledo, Simeon Floyd, Gustavo Solís, Bruce Mannheim, and Willem Adelaar for their very helpful comments and suggestions, with regard to various aspects of this study. I would like to express my special gratitude to Lev Michael for his very helpful comments and suggestions on the preliminary version of this paper, and for his help with proofreading this paper. Any remaining errors are mine.

I would also like to thank all of my informants for their patience, hard work, and good will. Finally, the financial support of the Ford Foundation through the International Fellowship Program for fieldwork during the summer 2006 in the Huaylas Valley, Peru, and for full support my studies of PhD in Linguistics at the University of Texas at Austin (2005-2007) are gratefully acknowledged.

## **Abstract**

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This paper presents an analysis of the person marking system in Huaylas Quechua, spoken in the north-central Peruvian Andes, focusing on subject and object agreement, and compares person marking in Huaylas Quechua with that found in other Quechuan languages. The Huaylas Quechua person marking system exhibits both regular and irregular inflectional patterns. Compared to some other varieties, the combination of first and third person subjects and the second person objects are rather irregular in Huaylas Quechua. The irregularities of the patterns in the relation 1S>2O and 3S>2O in Huaylas Quechua, as observed that this asymmetry in person marking system is associated with the person hierarchy, which is  $1 > 2 > 3$ , and is a result of historical stages of development of this language.

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## **Introduction**

Quechua is an indigenous language spoken in the Andes and adjacent lowland regions of South America. Quechua is an agglutinative language which exhibits rich nominal and verbal morphology. This paper presents an analysis of the person marking system in Huaylas Quechua, spoken in the north-central Peruvian Andes, focusing on subject and object agreement, and compares person marking in Huaylas Quechua with that found in other Quechuan languages. Compared to some other varieties, the combination of first and third person subjects and the second person objects are rather irregular in Huaylas Quechua. I claim that the remarkable divergence in the marking of the second person object is a consequence of the diachronic development of Huaylas Quechua's inflectional system. In light of contemporary typological linguistic perspectives, we account for subject and object marking divergence by the hypothesis that it is conditioned by the person hierarchy.

Although Quechua has been heavily studied, Ancash Quechua, and in particular the Huaylas Quechua dialect, has been less studied than other Quechua varieties. In order to address this gap, the present study of Huaylas Quechua has two main goals: (1) to present a morpho-syntactic description and analysis of the person marking system, and (2) to provide information for contrastive studies with other Quechuan varieties.

The Huaylas Quechua data on which this paper is based was collected during fieldwork in 2006 and 2007 in the Huaylas Valley, Ancash, Peru. The comparative data, for the Ayacucho, Cuzco, Argentina, Ferreñafe, and Ecuadorian Quechuan varieties, is drawn from published grammars. The comparative data for Ecuadorian Quechua was complemented by Simeon Floyd.

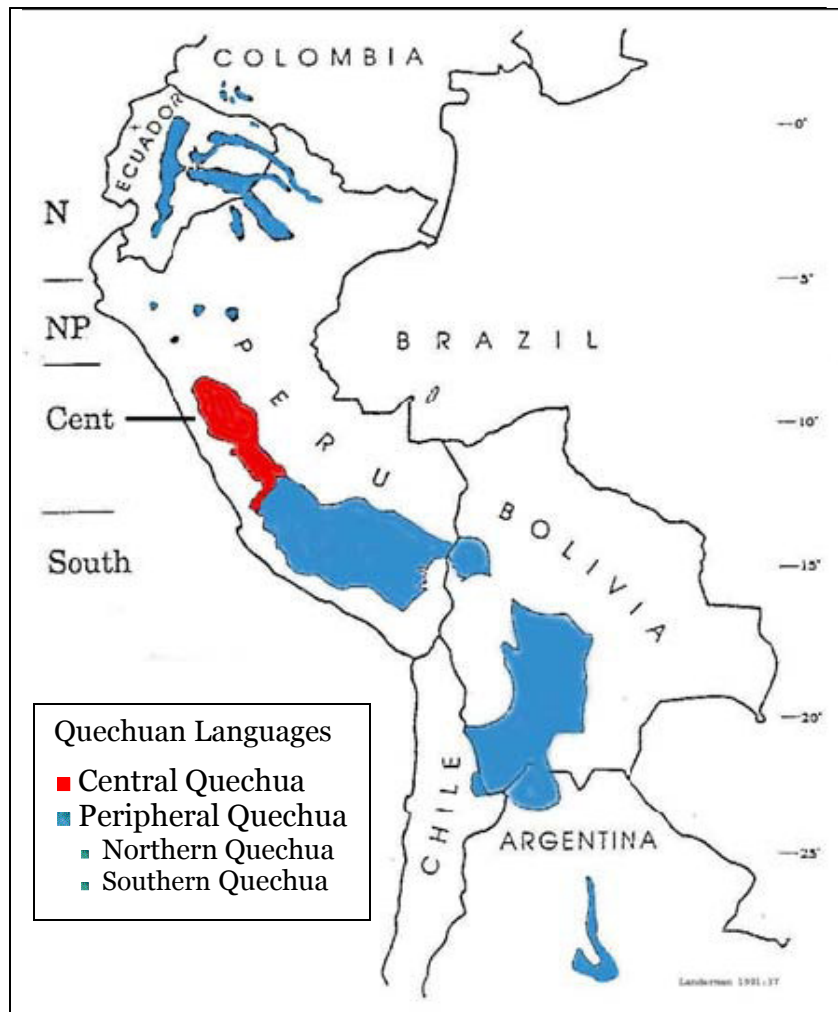
This paper is organized in five main sections. In section 1, I provide general information about Huaylas Quechua, its speakers, and previous studies of the language. In section 2, I briefly present a typological overview of Huaylas Quechua, as relevant to my analysis of Huaylas Quechua agreement. In section 3, I describe and analyze the person marking system in Huaylas Quechua, establishing regular and irregular patterns for combinations between different grammatical persons, and grammatical relations. In section 4, I provide a detailed analysis of verbal subject and object agreement and their interrelation. I also compare the Huaylas Quechua person marking system with person marking systems in other Quechuan varieties. Finally, in section 5, I present conclusions affirming that the second person object divergence is a result of the diachronic development of Huaylas Quechua and that it is conditioned by the speech act participant hierarchy  $1 > 2 > 3$ . This section concludes with a summary of the findings in this paper.

## **The Person Marking System in Huaylas Quechua**

### **1. Background**

#### **1.1. The language and people**

Quechua is one of the largest indigenous languages of the Americas both in terms of number of speakers and geographic expansion. Quechua is spoken by approximately 12 million people across the Andean highlands and adjacent lowland regions of South America (see appendix, map 1). Due to great internal linguistic diversity, Quechua has been divided in two main groups, Quechua I and Quechua II (Torero 1964, Cerrón-Palomino 1987), also called Central Quechua and Peripheral Quechua, or Southern-Northern Quechua (Mannheim 1991, Landerman 1991). Central Quechua is spoken mostly in the central highlands of Peru, including the regions of Ancash, Huánuco, and Junín. Peripheral Quechua is spoken in both to the north and south of Central Quechua. The northern varieties are spoken in Peru's western highlands (Ferrenafe, Cajamarca, San Martín), Ecuador (Otavalo, Quito, Riobamba, Salasaca), and Columbia (Putumayo and Pasto). The southern varieties are spoken in Peru's southern highlands (Ayacucho-Huancavelica, Cuzco-Puno), Bolivia (Cochabamba, Sucre, and Potosí), Argentina (Jujuy, Salta, Tucumán, and Santiago del Estero), and Chile (Atacama).



Map 1: The Quechuan Language Family

Ancash Quechua is one of the Central Quechuan languages. Ancash Quechua is spoken in the Andean highlands of the Ancash region, except in the provinces of Pallasca (in the extreme north), and Bolognesi and Ocros (in the extreme south).<sup>1</sup> Ancash Quechua also includes the provinces of Marañón and Huamalíes in the north of Huánuco region

<sup>1</sup> Pallasca was the territory where Culli was spoken, until the 1930s. The extinction of Culli explains the emergence of the Spanish monolingual territory in Ancash (Solís 2003). Quechua spoken in the provinces of Bolognesi and Ocros has been classified within the Alto-Pativilca-Alto Marañón-Alto Huallaga variety (Huánuco and north of Lima).

(Parker 1976, Torero 1964, 2002, Cerrón-Palomino 1987, Chávez 1994, Chirinos 2001, Adelaar and Muysken 2004).

Ancash Quechua exhibits an impressive internal diversity, and has been classified in two main dialects: Conchucos Quechua and Huaylas Quechua. Conchucos Quechua is spoken in the eastern provinces of the Ancash region, except in Pallasca. Huaylas Quechua is spoken in the central part of the Ancash region across the *Cordillera Blanca* (White Mountains) and *Cordillera Negra* (Black Mountains) of the Huaylas Valley, in the provinces of Recuay, Huaraz, Carhuaz, Yungay, and Huaylas. It is also spoken in some parts of the western provinces of Aija and Huarmey.



Map 2: Ancash Quechua

In the following diagram, we summarize the classification of Quechua.

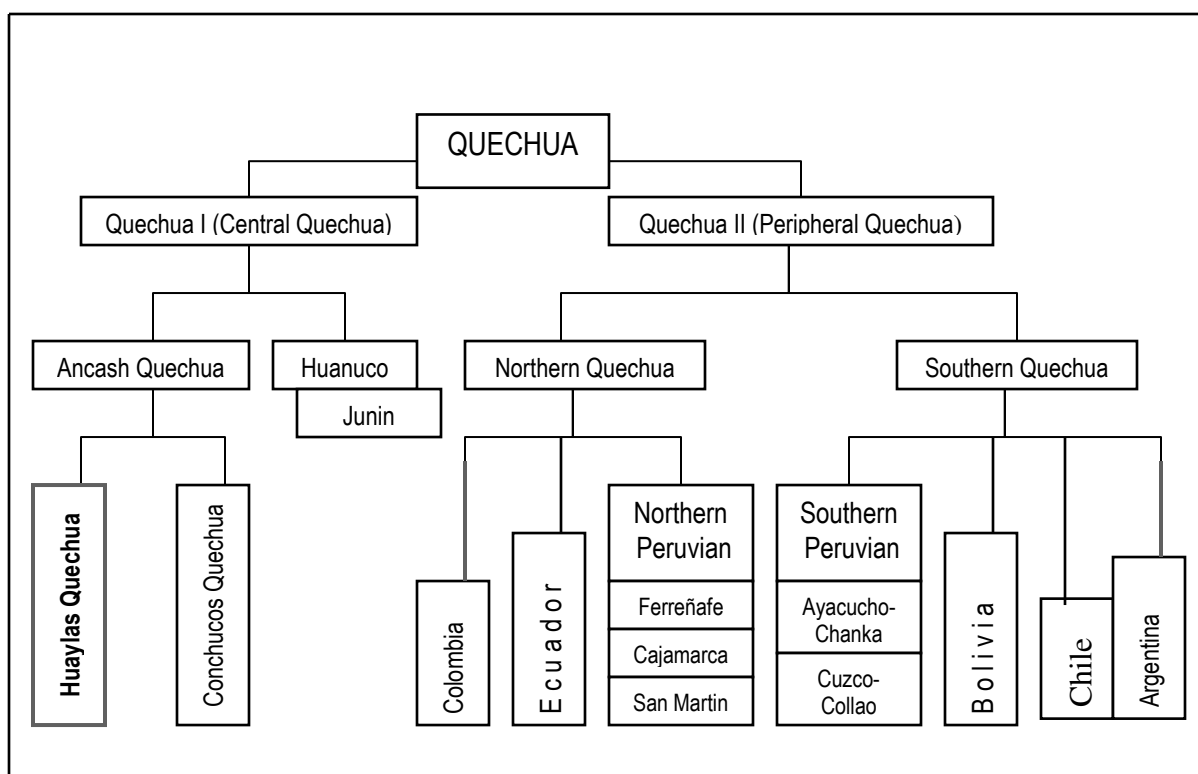


Figure 1: Quechuan Languages Classification

According to Torero (2002), Quechua originated in the Central Coast of Peru, specifically among the valleys of Pativilca, Supe, Huaura and Chancay (between the departments of Lima and Ancash). From these places, original Quechua spread widely across the central Andes, and later, from there, through the north and south Peruvian Andes and later through other northern and southern Andean countries. Currently, Quechua is not considered a single language, but rather a linguistic family<sup>2</sup>. The first

<sup>2</sup> Due to linguistic diversity within the Quechuan family, many linguists now prefer to speak of 'Quechuan languages', rather than of 'Quechua dialects'. Torero (2002; 85) claims that there are at least seven Quechuan languages: (1) Ancash-Huánuco, (2) Tarma-Huánuco, (3) Jauja-Huanca, (4) Cañaris-Cajamarca, (5) Chachapoyas-Lamas, (6) Ecuador-Colombia, and (7) Ayacucho-Cuzco-Bolivia. Following Torero (ibid.) and Adelaar (2004), in this paper, I assume the denomination of 'Quechuan languages' for major varieties of Quechua, and Quechuan dialects/varieties for varieties within the first ones.

expansion of Proto Quechua from the central coast of Peru covered all the territory of the Ancash region and its adjacent areas (Torero 2002, 1964, Cerrón-Palomino 1987, Parker 1963).

The relationships among modern Quechuan languages are themselves very complex, involving both genetic diversification and waves of contact induced changes that are shared by several geographically contiguous varieties (Mannheim 1991). Intelligibility decreases drastically as one moves from branch to branch of the language family. Parker (1976) claims that Ancash Quechua is a distinct Quechuan language because it is not mutually intelligible with other Quechuan varieties spoken in the north and south Peruvian Andes and in other Andean countries, or even with Huanca Quechua, which is another Central Quechua variety (see footnote 2). This assessment is supported by my own experience with reactions to Huaylas Quechua (my native language) exhibited by speakers of Southern Peruvian Quechua from Ayacucho and Cuzco, and by speakers of Bolivian, Argentinean, Ecuadorian and Columbian Quechua during my MA studies in Cochabamba, Bolivia (see Luykx, Julca, and García 2006).

Although the Quechua spoken in the Huaylas Valley and the Conchucos zone of the Ancash region shares a relatively uniform syntax, there are fairly striking differences in phonology, morphology, and the lexicon between Huaylas Quechua and Conchucos Quechua. According to Chávez (1994), from the phonological perspective, Huaylas Quechua in some respects is the more conservative variety, but in other respects, it is also the more innovative variety. On the one hand, Huaylas Quechua is conservative because it retains the postvelar or uvular /q/ in the enclitics *-paq*, *-raq*, *-taq* (*imapaq?* ‘for what?’),



*imaraq?* ‘what would it be?’, *imataq?* ‘what is that?’). In Conchucos Quechua, the non-agentive uvular /q/ has become /Ø/, which has triggered compensatory vowel lengthening: *imapaq* > [imapa:], *imaraq* > [imara:], *imataq* > [imata:]. In other Conchucos varieties such as Yanama, the uvular /q/ has been voiced as [g]: *maqarqan* > [magargan] ‘s/he hit (past) him or her’. On the other hand, Huaylas Quechua is innovative because vowel-glide sequences are simplified into long vowels. Thus, /aj/, /aw/, and /uj/ change into the monophthongs [e:], [o:], [i:] respectively (*tsay* [caj] > [ce:] ‘that’, *chawpi* [tʃawpi] > [tʃo:pi] ‘middle’ *punuykan* [punujkan] > [puni:kan] ‘s/he is sleeping’). In contrast, Conchucos Quechua allows the sequences [aj, aw, uj] (Solís 1996).

From the morphological perspective there are also differences between Huaylas and Conchucos Quechua. For instance, while in Conchucos Quechua (CQ) the modal suffix *-ski* occurs with verbs to indicate an event that happens unexpectedly or an action performed in an unusual manner, *-ski* never occurs in Huaylas Quechua (HQ), because this meaning is distinguished by a particular intonation. Consider the following example, CQ: *Marya allqunaw mikuskin* ‘Mary eats like a dog (and it is unusual for people to eat like a dog)’, HQ: *Mally alqunaw mikun* ‘Mary eats like a dog’.

In the lexicon, there are also considerable differences. For example, the Huaylas Quechua words *piqa* ‘head’, *wayta* ‘flower’, *chusku* ‘four’, *ruru* ‘egg’, *pacha* ‘stomach’ have their counterpart in Conchucos Quechua as *uma* ‘head’, *sisi* ‘flower’, *tawa* ‘four’, *runtu* ‘egg’, *wiqsa* ‘stomach’. Likewise, while in Conchucos Quechua the word *aruy* has

two meanings ‘to work’ and ‘to cook’; in Huaylas Quechua there are two different words for these: *aruy* ‘to cook’, and *uryay* ‘to work’.

The number of Quechua speakers in Peru has been calculated to be approximately 4,500,000 (Lopez, 1999, Pozzi-Escot 1998, Cerrón-Palomino 1987). Based on the Peruvian National Census (1993), Chirinos (2001) calculated that the number of Quechua speakers in the Ancash region surpasses 900,000. The majority of Quechua speakers (approximately 500,000) is found in the Conchucos area. Chirinos (2001) claims that around 50% of the Huaylas Valley population is Quechua-speaking. Godenzzi (1998), following Pozzi-Scott (1998), estimates that Huaylas Quechua has approximately 350,000 speakers.<sup>3</sup> Huaylas Quechua is mostly spoken in rural communities of the Huaylas Valley. It is also spoken by urban migrants from these areas to the major cities of Huaraz, Recuay, Carhuaz, Yungay, and Caraz.

Among Quechua speakers, there is genuine appreciation for folklore not only in the areas of dance, music, and native costumes, but also in the use of their own language in telling stories, legends, anecdotes, riddles, jokes, and personal life stories between friends and family members. Nevertheless, I notice that the vitality of Quechua in the Huaylas Valley has decreased in the last decades (Julca 2007a, b, 2003). Currently, Huaylas Quechua exhibits different grades of linguistic vitality and shift depending on different social factors such as location, socio-economical condition, level of education, age, gender, bilingual educational programs, and transmission to new generations.

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<sup>3</sup> According to Gonzales (1992), in the 1970s more than 80 percent of the Huaylas Valley population was Quechua-speaking. This percentage has decreased significantly in the subsequent decades, motivated mainly by diglossia (unequal relationships between Spanish and Quechua), migration, education, and mass media.

Finally, in Peru the national educational system has principally been implemented only in Spanish in multilingual communities<sup>4</sup>. Schools have been configured to promote the “national culture”, which means the propagation of a homogeneous nation-state, in which everyone must assimilate or be marginalized. Thus, in the Huaylas Valley, as in other regions of Peru, the effort to create a unified nation emphasized the Hispanization of the indigenous population and pointed toward the gradual extinction of indigenous languages. In this context, in 1975 General Velasco’s government made Quechua an official national language, co-equal with Spanish.<sup>5</sup> However, the law that would mandate where and how Quechua could be considered an “official” language was never passed.<sup>6</sup> The use of Quechua has been considered only in isolated experimental bilingual education projects in the 1980s and 1990s initiated by individuals and organizations independent of the Peruvian state (Hornberger 2000). In this context, in the second half of the 1990s, the Bilingual Intercultural Education Program (EBI) run by the Ministry of Education started a campaign for the revitalization of Quechua and other indigenous languages. Thus, rhetorically in Peru, language policies in education are shifting towards the preservation and revitalization of Quechua, but in practice, Peruvian language policies still have many limitations.

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<sup>4</sup> Historically, Peru has been a multicultural and multilingual country, but after the Spanish invasion, some languages died and others are in shift, and in the process of extinction. According to some researchers, before the Spanish invasion, there were around 300 languages. The Spanish chronicler Acosta has even calculated as many as 700 languages (Cerrón-Palomino 1988), but now the Ministry of Education officially considers 44 languages to be spoken in Peru (Godenzzi 2003). In the same way, when the Spaniards arrived in the Ancash region, 4 indigenous languages were spoken (Cholon, Quingnam, Culli and Quechua); even up to the 1930s Culli was spoken in Pashllasca (North Ancash), but now only one survives, Quechua (Solís 2003).

<sup>5</sup> With the change of president (1975) and constitution (1979), the law making Quechua an official language was changed to include Quechua, not as an official national language, but rather as “a language of official use in the areas and in the way that the Law mandates” (García 2004: 355).

<sup>6</sup> The current Peruvian Constitution of 1993, in article 48, talks of official languages in the plural, declaring these to be Spanish and, in those zones where they are dominant, Quechua, Aymara and the other indigenous languages.

## 1.2. Previous studies

There are only a few studies of Ancash Quechua in general, and of Huaylas Quechua in particular. Most of the studies that do exist treat Ancash Quechua as a single language which includes Huaylas Quechua and Conchucos Quechua as dialects. There are not any studies specifically about the person marking system in Huaylas Quechua. In general, this topic is only briefly mentioned in grammars. The most detailed description of the person marking system is presented by Gary Parker (1976) in his *Gramática Quechua: Ancash-Huailas*. He calls the person marking system on the verb “transitions”.<sup>7</sup> Parker presents subject-object marking paradigms at the beginning of the chapter V: Verbal Phrase. The author presents all the combinations of subject and object marking on the verb: 1S > 2O, 1S > 3O, 2S > 1O, 2S > 3O, 3S > 1O, 3S > 2O, and 3S > 3O.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, we do not find any detailed explanations of irregular cases of person marking.

Levengood and Larsen (1982) in their sketch *Bosquejo Descriptivo del Quechua de Huaylas* briefly present the different combinations of subject and object person marking on the verb on one page and in one table. Likewise, Escibens and Proulx (1970), in their *Gramática del Quechua de Huaylas* summarize person marking in Huaylas Quechua in a

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<sup>7</sup> The term ‘transition’ has traditionally been used in Quechua studies to refer to the combination of the object and the person suffixes to indicate the person of the direct or indirect object and of the subject (Weber 1976). This author more recently, defines ‘transitions’ as a set of suffixes which indicate the grammatical person of the object and grammatical person of subject (Weber 1996).

<sup>8</sup> Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: 1, 2, 3 (persons), S (subject), O (object), V (verb), PL (plural), INCL (inclusive), ADV (adverb), ALL (allative), NOM (nominative), ACC (accusative), CAUS (causative), REC (reciprocal), A (agent), P (patient), DIR (direct evidence), 1+2 (1<sup>st</sup> person plural inclusive), PST (past), (PST (present), FUT (future), and CIRC (circumfix), CAU (causative). The symbol ‘~’ means that the preceding form varies in its use with the following form; the single angular bracket ‘>’ means the preceding form is followed by the next; the hyphen ‘-’ is used for representing a morphemic boundary, the brackets [ ] are used for phonetic representation, slashes / / are used for phonemic representation, 1S > 2O indicate first person subject and second person object, this form applies for all combinations.

small table and one paragraph of explanation. It is clear that the subject and object person marking on the verb still has not been studied exhaustively.

James Wroughton (1988), in his MA thesis *Major Clause Constituents of Conchucos (Ancash) Quechua*, develops the topic of transitions a little more extensively in an independent section. Although Wroughton presents a detailed description of each case of transitions in Conchucos Quechua, he does not analyze or explain the irregular cases of the second person object.

As we have seen, most of the studies on Ancash Quechua were carried out in the 1970s and 1980s. Other studies of Ancash Quechua do not incorporate the topic of ‘transitions’, which in this study I refer to as the ‘person marking system’. Furthermore, beyond those studies, I am not aware of any other linguistic works which relate specifically to the Quechua spoken in Huaylas Valley, at least regarding the person marking system in this variety. Of course, much more has been written on many other varieties of Quechua.

## 2. Typological profile of Huaylas Quechua

In this section, I provide a brief typological characterization of Huaylas Quechua that will be relevant for my analysis. Typologically, Huaylas Quechua, like other Quechuan languages, is a relatively agglutinative language. Agglutinative languages are characterized by the feature that “a word may consist of more than one morpheme, but the boundaries between morphemes in the word are always clear-cut; moreover, a given morpheme has at least a reasonably invariant shape” (Comrie, 1989: 43).

- (1) a. **wayi**-ntsik-kuna-lla-man  
house-1.INCL-PL-ADV-ALL  
‘only to our (INCL) houses’
- b. **miku**-tsi-naku-ya-nki-lla  
eat-CAUS-REC-PL-2(S)-ADV  
‘You (PL) only make each other eat.’

As we can see in (1a) and (1b), Huaylas Quechua speakers can add a large number of affixes to nominal and verbal roots. We also notice that the main morphological device of Huaylas Quechua is suffixation.

According to Parker (1976), Torero (1964, 2002), and Cerrón-Palomino (1987), Quechua is a verb-final language in general. Thus, the basic and preferred word order is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). However, Huaylas Quechua also allows the five other possible word orders: OSV, SVO, VSO, OVS, and VOS. Speakers can easily identify the grammatical relations of arguments because the subject is zero-marked (- $\emptyset$ ), while the

object exhibits the accusative marker *-ta*. We also notice that the fronted constituent S, in SVO sentences (2b) and the O constituent in OSV (2c) and OVS sentences in (2d) are focused. Focused elements are hosts for evidentials, such as the direct evidential suffix *-mi / -m*<sup>9</sup>, in Huaylas Quechua. When the fronted element is the verb (2e, f), this verb is also focused, but it is not marked. Thus, in Huaylas Quechua, the clitic marking on focused elements is optional. The following examples illustrate this point.

- (2) a. Ishti                      qiru-ta      mutu-n.                      SOV (preferred word order)  
       Esteban(NOM) tree-ACC cut-3  
       ‘Esteban cuts a tree.’
- b. Ishti-**m**                      mutu-n qiru-ta.                      SVO  
       Esteban(NOM)-DIR cut-3 tree-ACC  
       ‘Esteban cuts a tree.’
- c. Qiru-ta-**m**              Ishti                      mutu-n.                      OSV  
       tree-ACC-DIR Esteban(NOM) cut-3  
       ‘Esteban cuts a tree.’
- d. Qiru-ta-**m**              mutu-n Ishti.                      OVS  
       tree-ACC-DIR cut-3 Esteban(NOM)  
       ‘Esteban cuts a tree.’
- e. Mutu-n Ishti                      qiru-ta.                      VSO  
       cut-3 Esteban(NOM) tree-ACC  
       ‘Esteban cuts a tree.’
- f. Mutu-n qiru-ta      Ishti.                      VOS  
       cut-3 tree-ACC Esteban(NOM)  
       ‘Esteban cuts a tree.’

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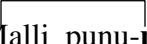
<sup>9</sup> The suffix *-mi / -m* (after a consonant/after vowel respectively) indicates that the speaker is stating something from personal experience.

Huaylas Quechua exhibits adjective-noun order. According to Greenberg (1966), this order is associated with verb-final languages (cf. Dryer 1988). Adjective-noun order is even consistent in complex adjectival constructions that include demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, and nouns.


- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (3) a. <i>hatun wasi</i><br>big house<br>'A big house' | b. <i>Tsay iskay mallwa kuchi-kuna</i><br>DEM two young pig-PL<br>'Those two young pigs' |
|--|--|

In (3a), the adjective *hatun* precedes the noun *wasi*. Likewise, in (3b) the adjective *mallwa* precedes the noun *kuchikuna*. If we invert the adjective-noun order to noun-adjective, in both cases the constructions becomes ungrammatical. In complex adjective constructions with demonstratives and numerals as (3b), the order is also rigid (1) demonstrative, (2) numeral, (3) adjective, and (4) noun. In summary, although Dryer (1988) claims that NA-AN order does not actually correlate with VO-OV, in Huaylas Quechua, which is OV, adjectives always precede nouns.

Huaylas Quechua is a double-marking language because grammatical relations are indicated on the head as well as in the dependent (Nichols, 1986). As we can see in examples (4a) and (4b), the arguments are co-referenced in the predicate by verbal inflections (head-marking), but we see that in (4b) the dependent constituent is also marked with the accusative case suffix *-ta* (dependent-marking).

- (4) a.  *Malli punu-n*  
Mary sleep-3(S)  
'Mary sleeps.'



- 
- b. Malli nuqa-**ta** kuya-**ma-n**  
 Mary me-ACC love-1(O)-3(S)  
 ‘Mary loves me.’

As we can see in (4a), the suffix *-n* of the intransitive verb *punu* ‘sleep’ is co-referential with the subject *Malli*. Likewise, in (4b), the inflection *-n* of the transitive verb *kuya* ‘love’ is co-referential with the subject *Malli*, and the inflection *-ma* is co-referential with the direct object *nuqa-ta*. For this reason, in natural speech, the overt noun phrases may be omitted because person is indicated in the predicate. Depending on the communicative context, pronominal inflections are enough to indicate verbal arguments.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (5) a. <b>punu-n</b><br>sleep-3(S)<br>‘S/he sleeps.’ | b. <b>kuya-ma-n</b><br>love-1(O)-3(S)<br>‘S/he loves me.’ |
|--|---|

Huaylas Quechua displays a Nominative-Accusative alignment system. This language is also rich in obligatory case marking. Nouns can receive one of twelve different suffixes as case markers, including: nominative *-ø*, accusative *-ta*, genitive *-pa*, allative *-man*, ablative *-pita/-piq*, locative *-chaw*, instrumental-comitative *-wan*, benefactive *-paq*, limitative *-kama/-yaq*, causal *-raykur*, comparative *-naw*, and interactive (proximal locative) *-pura*. Nominal subjects are not case marked, but are indicated by verbal agreement. Direct objects are case marked with accusative suffix *-ta*.

Both subjects/agents and objects are cross-referred by verbal agreement suffixes as in (4b) and (5b).

Huaylas Quechua distinguishes two numbers: singular and plural. While the singular is the unmarked (*punku* ‘a/the door’), the plural is marked with suffixes *–kuna* for nouns (*punku-kuna* ‘doors’), with *–ntsik* and *–kuna* for pronouns (*nuqa-ntsik* ‘we (inclusive)’, *qam-kuna* ‘you (plural)’), and with *–ya(:)* and *–ntsik* for verbs (*miku-ya-nki*<sup>10</sup> ‘you (plural) eat’, *miku-ntsik* ‘we (inclusive) eat’). In the following table, we summarize the number system in Huaylas Quechua.

NUMBER	Nouns	Pronouns	Verbs
Singular	- Ø	- Ø	- Ø
Plural	-kuna	-kuna -ntsik	-ya: / -ya -ntsik

Table 1: Number

Finally, we notice that in Huaylas Quechua the subject as well as the object is inflected for person marking on the verb. The subject person marking paradigm is very regular, as in other Quechuan languages<sup>11</sup>. Likewise, the first person object is marked on the verb by *–ma*, and the third person object is unmarked; both markings are regular.

<sup>10</sup> In verbs, the plural marker *–ya(:)* comes after person markers, while in nouns, it comes before person markers (see pp. 20, 21).

<sup>11</sup> We can see this for Cuzco-Collao Quechua in Cusihuaman (1976), Ayacucho-Chanca Quechua in Soto (1976), and Argentinean Quechua in Adelaar and Muysken (2004) (Southern Quechua); Ancash Quechua in Parker (1976), Pacaraos Quechua in Adelaar (1987), Huallaga Quechua in Weber (1996) (Central Quechua); Ecuadorian Quechua in Cole (1982), Ferreñafe Quechua in Taylor (2001) (Northern Quechua). This observation is also summarized for all Quechuan languages in Cerrón-Palomino (1987, 2003), Torero (2002), and Adelaar and Muysken (2004).

Second person object marking exhibits remarkable irregularity. This point is noteworthy with regards to developmental processes of Ancash Quechua and also because it can be analyzed in relation to the speech act participant.

### 3. Person marking in Huaylas Quechua

In Huaylas Quechua, the marking of a second person object on the verb exhibits irregularities which will be the focus of our further discussion. The Spanish colonial grammarians as well as Parker (1976), Torero (1964, 2002), and Cerrón-Palomino (1987), in their classic Quechua studies, have called the morphological combinations of subject and object markers in the verb *transiciones* ('transitions')<sup>12</sup>. In order to understand verbal subject marking and object marking, and portmanteau subject-object marking, known as 'transitions', it is necessary to understand how person is expressed in verbs.

In Huaylas Quechua, as in other Quechuan languages, there is subject marking on verbs. This language distinguishes three grammatical persons and each one has a specific inflectional marker. I illustrate this point in the following examples with the intransitive verb *punu-* 'sleep'.

- (6) a. nuqa punu-**u**  
1 sleep-1(S)  
'I sleep.'

- b. qam punu-**nki**  
2 sleep-2(S)  
'You sleep.'

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<sup>12</sup> According to Adelaar and Muysken (2004), the term *transiciones* appeared for the first time in the anonymous grammar published by Antonio Ricardo in 1586.

- c. pay punu-**n**  
       3 sleep-3(S)  
       ‘He/she sleeps.’

As we can see in (6a), the final vowel of the verb *punu-* ‘sleep’ *-u* is lengthened<sup>13</sup> to mark the first person subject, in (6b) the second person subject is marked by *-nki*, and in (6c) the third person subject is marked by *-n*<sup>14</sup>. In plural forms, the plural marker *-ya(:)* precedes person marking in the verb. The first person plural inclusive<sup>15</sup> represented as 1<sup>st</sup> + 2<sup>nd</sup> has a special marker *-ntsik* (see p. 15).

In Huaylas Quechua, like in other central Quechuan languages (Cerrón-Palomino 1987), the alternate second person marker *-yki* is obligatory in verbal expressions in the past (7a). Likewise, in the future tense, *-yki* appears as a fused suffix for marking the first person subject acting on the second person object (7b).

- (7) a. maqa-ma-rqa-**yki**  
       hit-1O-PST-2S  
       ‘You hit me.’

- b. maqa-shqa-**yki**  
       hit-FUT-1S>2O  
       ‘I will hit you.’

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<sup>13</sup> Huaylas Quechua has three phonemic vowels /a, i, u/. The first person subject is marked by vowel lengthening as in *rika-a* ‘I see’, *ayqi-i* ‘I run’, *shamu-u* ‘I come’. I represent this allomorph in this paper using the symbol -:

<sup>14</sup> In southern and northern Quechuan languages (Quechua spoken on both sides of central Quechua), the verbal paradigm is: *-ni* (1<sup>st</sup> person), *-nki* (2<sup>nd</sup> person), and *-n* (3<sup>rd</sup> person).

<sup>15</sup> Some authors such as Adelaar and Muysken (2004), and Lakämper and Wuunderlich (1998) refer to the first person inclusive as ‘4<sup>th</sup> person’ and represent it as 1<sup>st</sup> + 2<sup>nd</sup>.

As we can see, *-yki* in (7a) marks the second person subject, and in (7b) it is a fused suffix that marks the relation of first person subject acting on the second person object (see detailed analysis in the sections 4.1 and 4.2).

In the following table, we summarize the verbal subject person markers in Huaylas Quechua.

PERSON PARADIGM	Verbal Subject	
	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	-:	-ya -:
2 <sup>nd</sup>	-nki, -yki	-ya(:) -nki
3 <sup>rd</sup>	-n	-ya(:) -n
1 <sup>st</sup> + 2 <sup>nd</sup>		-ntsik

Table 2: Verbal person paradigm

The suffixes used to mark person in verbs (table 2) are very similar to the pronominal possession markers on nouns. Indeed, the verbal and nominal paradigms in the singular differ only in the second person. Thus, in Huaylas Quechua, possession on nouns is marked with *-:* for first person, *-yki* for second person, and *-n* for third person as in *wayi-i* ‘my house’, *wayi-yki* ‘your house’, and *wayi-n* ‘his/her house’. The plural form in the nominal paradigm is marked by the suffix *-kuna* which follows person marking in the noun: *wayi-i-kuna* ‘my houses’, *wayi-yki-kuna* ‘your houses’, *wayi-n-kuna* ‘their houses’. However, these kind of plural forms exhibit some ambiguity because the suffix *-kuna* not only pluralizes possessed objects, but also possessors. Thus, *wayi-i-kuna* can

be interpreted as ‘my houses’ or ‘our (excl.) house’, *wayi-yki-kuna* ‘your (pl.) house’ or ‘your (sg.) houses’, and *wayi-n-kuna* ‘their house’ or ‘their houses’.<sup>16</sup>

In the following table, we summarize the nominal possession markers in Huaylas Quechua.

PERSON PARADIGM	Nominal Possession	
	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	-:	-kuna
2 <sup>nd</sup>	-yki	-kuna
3 <sup>rd</sup>	-n	-kuna
1 <sup>st</sup> + 2 <sup>nd</sup>		-ntsik-kuna

Table 3: Nominal person paradigm

If we compare nominal and verbal person markers in the tables 2 and 3, we can see, that the first and third persons have the same markers in both paradigms. The difference is in the second person. While the second person is marked by *-nki* in the present tense and by *-yki* in the past and future (1S > 2O) in the verbal paradigm, it always is marked by *-yki*<sup>17</sup> in the nominal paradigm<sup>18</sup>. The first person plural inclusive, as in the verbal paradigm, has a special marker *-ntsik*: *wayi-ntsik* ‘our house’, but in the nominal case,

<sup>16</sup> The context of communication is very important for solving this kind of ambiguity.

<sup>17</sup> Weber (1987) claims that Proto-Quechua had two second person suffixes *\*-yki*, one was a verbal marker and the other was a nominal marker. In contrast, Cerron-Palomino (1987) proposes that Proto-Quechua had only the nominal second person suffix *\*-yki*, which over time was extended to mark the verbal second person in all Quechuan languages, except in Cajatambo, which is one of the most conservative Quechuan languages .

<sup>18</sup> In Peripheral Quechuan languages, the nominal paradigm is: *-y* (1<sup>st</sup> person), *-yki* (2<sup>nd</sup> person), and *-n* (3<sup>rd</sup> person).

speakers can also pluralize the possessed object adding *-kuna*: *wayi-ntsik-kuna* ‘our houses’. Therefore, the difference between the verbal paradigm and the nominal paradigm in singular forms is slight, but in plural forms the difference is more significant.

As we can see in the examples (6a), (6b), and (6c), which are summarized in table 1, the three grammatical persons are marked on the verb, and they identify the subject of the sentence. However, an additional dimension is brought in through the fact that not only the subject but also the direct object can be identified for person on the verb. In Huaylas Quechua, first and third person object marking exhibits regular patterns while the process of second person object marking on the verb exhibits significant irregularities showing asymmetrical patterns. In the following section, I present specific examples for each relation between subject and object. After presenting all the relations between subject and object in Huaylas Quechua, I will identify the cases of divergent object person marking, and then I will explain each case in comparison with other Quechuan languages.

In the following table, I summarize subject and object person marking for the singular form in Huaylas Quechua.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Read: 2/1–nki(S)/-ma(O), 3/1–n(S)/-ma(O), 1/2–q(S>O), 3/2–shu...nki(S>O), 1/3 –:(S)/-ø(O), 2/3–nki(S)/-ø(O), 3/3–n(S)/-ø(O).



PERSON MARKING (Singular)		OBJECT		
		1	2	3
SUBJECT	1		-q	-: / Ø
	2	-nki / -ma		-nki / Ø
	3	-n / -ma	-shu...nki	-n / Ø

Table 4: Subject and object person marking

### 3.1. Regular patterns

Huaylas Quechua exhibits regular patterns with the first person object and the third person object. Firstly, when the subject is either second person as in (8a), or third person as in (8b), the first person object is marked by *-ma*.

(8) a. kuya-**ma-nki**

love-1O-2S

‘You love me.’

b. kuya-**ma-n**

love-1O-3S

‘He/she loves me.’

As we can see in the examples above, the second person subject is marked with *-nki* and the third person subject is marked by *-n* according to pattern shown in Tables 2 and

4. In both (8a) and (8b), the first person object is marked by *-ma* according to object pattern shown in table 4.

Secondly, when the subject is first person as in (9a), second person as in (9b) or third person as in (9c), the third person object is unmarked.

(9) a. kuya-**a**  
love-1S  
'I love him/her.'

b. kuya-**nki**  
love-2S  
'You love him/her.'

c. kuya-**n**  
love-3S  
'He/she loves him/her.'

As we can see in the preceding examples, the first person subject is marked by lengthening the vowel *-a* (-:), the second person subject is marked with *-nki*, and the third person subject is marked by *-n* according to the pattern shown in tables 2 and 4. In (9a), (9b), and (9c), the third person object formally has no mark<sup>20</sup> as is shown in table 3.

Based on the examples grouped in (8) and (9), we conclude that first person object and third person object marking is regular and very consistent according to object patterns shown in table 4. In all cases, the first person object is marked by the suffix *-ma*, and the third person object is unmarked.

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<sup>20</sup> Huaylas Quechua, like Basque, Comanche, Lak, Lavukaleve, Maricopa (Siewierska, 2004), and others is a language that has first and second-person object markers but no third-person object marker.

### 3.2. Irregular patterns<sup>21</sup>

In contrast to the first and third person object regular patterns discussed in Section 3.1, there are two irregular patterns exhibited by the second person object, as shown in table 4. The first type of irregularity in the verbal paradigm appears when the first person is the subject and the second person is the object as in (10). In this case, neither the subject nor object has independent markers, but rather both the first person subject and the second person object are marked by the portmanteau suffix *-q* (1S > 2O = *-q*).

- (10) kuya-**q**  
love-1S>2O  
'I love you.'

As we can see, in (10) the 1S + 2O portmanteau is marked by the fused suffix *-q*. Therefore, this suffix *-q* indicates that first person subject is acting upon a second person object.

The second irregular pattern appears when the third person is the subject and the second person is the object, as in (11). In this case, as in the first case, again neither the subject nor object have independent markers, but rather both the third person subject and the second person object are marked by the fused suffix *-shunki* (3S > 2O = *-shunki*).

- (11) kuya-**shunki**  
love-3S>2O  
'He/she loves you.'

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<sup>21</sup> Weber (1976) calls irregular cases of second person object marking on the verb 'anomalies in the transition paradigm'.

From the examples (10) and (11), we conclude that in Huaylas Quechua there are two irregular cases for person marking, both of which involve the second person object. On the basis of these irregularities in the person marking in Huaylas Quechua, I argue that there is a correlation between the positions of the object on the person hierarchy and its overt expression as a person marker. Following Siewierska (2004), Croft (2003) and Comrie (1989), we can assert that the person hierarchy in Ancash Quechua is  $1 > 2 > 3$ . The first person is the highest on the person hierarchy, and consequently it has an overt, independent, object marker *-ma*. The second person is lower in the hierarchy than the first person, and has “medial” or “semi” marking, and it appears as the fused suffixes *-q* and *-shu...nki*. Finally, the third person is the lowest on the person hierarchy, and it has no object marker ( $\emptyset$ ). This person hierarchy correlation can be expressed in the following diagram.

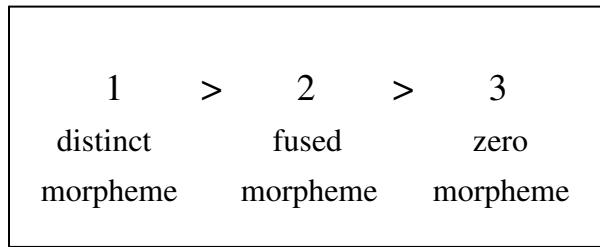


Figure 2: Person hierarchy

In order to understand more completely the formation of person marking, it is important to briefly address the behavior of transitions in plural forms. In general, as in singular forms, the person marking in plural forms is irregular and asymmetric with respect to the second person object (as in 12a,c below) and the first person inclusive

plural form (1+2) (as in 12 a, b below). In the following table, I summarize the person marking for plural forms in Huaylas Quechua.

PERSON MARKING (Plural)		OBJECT						
		1		2		1 + 2 (1 Pl. Incl.)	3	
SUBJECT	1			-ya	-q		-ya	-∅
	2	-ya	-nki -ma				-ya	-nki -∅
	3	-ya	-n -ma	-ya	-shunki	-ma-ntsik	-ya	-n -∅
	1 + 2 (1Pl. Incl.)						-ntsik	-∅

Table 5: Person marking in plurals

In Huaylas Quechua number is indicated by means of the inflectional suffix *-ya* which is inserted between the root and the person marking endings. The inclusive first person *-ntsik* is a portmanteau suffix that also indicates plural number as in (12a) and (12b). The portmanteau verbal suffix *-ntsik* indicates plurality of either or both verbal arguments (agent and patient).<sup>22</sup> As shown in table 5, no plural marker *-ya*: applies in this case. Moreover, the first person object *-ma* can also co-occur with the inclusive *-ntsik* as in (12a), in which case the result is a semantically irregular sequence referring

<sup>22</sup> Such portmanteau affixes are quite common. One example, is presented by the Yuman language Jamul Tiipay (Miller 2001, cited by Siewierska, 2004: 60), which as in Huaylas Quechua, has portmanteau verbal prefixes in transitive clauses which indicate the person/number of the ‘agent’ and the ‘patient’.

to a third person subject acting upon a first person plural inclusive (Adelaar and Muysken 2004: 220). Consider the following example.

- (12) a. kuya-ma-**ntsik**  
love-1O-3 S  
'They love us.'  
'He/she loves us.'
- b. kuya-**ntsik**  
love-1Pl.Incl S  
'We love him/her'  
'We love them.'

As we can see in (12a) and (12b), the inclusive first person and plurality appear together in one suffix *-ntsik*. In (12a) *-ntsik* indicates the third person plural subject, but it also indicates the number of the first person object. In (12b), *-ntsik* refers to the first person inclusive subject; the third person object has no mark as in all other cases. Thus, the use of *-ntsik* is ambiguous because it marks plurality of either the subject or the object, or both simultaneously.<sup>23</sup>

The verbal plural *-ya(:)* is also ambiguous in scope, as it may indicate plurality of the subject, object, or both. As evidence I present the following three examples:

- (13) a. wiya:-**ya-q**  
hear-PL-1S>2O  
(1) 'we (excl.) hear you (SG)'  
(2) 'I hear you (PL)'  
(3) 'we (excl.) hear you (PL)'

---

<sup>23</sup> In a recent study, Quesada (2005: 79) postulates that, from a diachronic perspective, the suffix *-ntsik* can be divided into: *-n* (1<sup>st</sup> person), *-chi* (associative), and *-k* (2<sup>nd</sup> person). Thus, *-k* would be the velar segment of the second person *-ki*, and the actual form would be the result of elision of *i* (*-ki* > *-k*).

b. wiya-**ya**:-ma-nki

hear-PL-1O-2S

(1) ‘You (PL) hear me.’

(2) ‘You (SG) hear us.’

(3) ‘You (PL) hear us.’

c. wiya-**ya**:-shunki

hear-PL-3S>2O

(1) ‘They hear you (SG).’

(2) ‘He/she hears you (PL).’

(3) ‘They hear you (PL).’

As we can see in examples (13a-c), the suffix *-ya:* marks plural of the subject or the object or both, thus inducing a threefold ambiguity in all forms in which it appears. Consequently, each plural construction has up to three possible meanings. This ambiguity is resolved by speakers using pronouns in the nominal phrase within the sentence. Otherwise, the pragmatic context is fundamental for interpreting the plural marking.

## 4. Object agreement in Huaylas Quechua

In this section, we analyze the two alternations in person marking involving the second person object and the first and third person subjects. To this end, I review historical work on Quechua morphology for those specific cases. I also examine examples in the past and future tenses to survey the role of tense in object agreement. I compare the results in Huaylas Quechua with those of other Quechuan languages.

### 4.1. The case of portmanteau suffix *-q* / (*-yki*)

The second person object with the first person subject exhibits tense-based alternations. The relation 1S > 2O appears marked by the portmanteau suffix *-q* in the present and past tenses, but in the future tense, it appears marked by the fused suffix *-yki*.

- (14) a. *kuya-q*  
love-1S>2O  
'I love you.'
- b. *kuya-rqa-q*  
love-PST-1S>2O  
'I loved you.'
- c. *kuya-shqa*<sup>24</sup>-**yki**  
love-FUT-1S>2O  
'I will love you.'

---

<sup>24</sup> The future tense pattern is more irregular than the past and present patterns, and the portmanteau second person future morpheme *-nki* is the same as in the present tense. The future tense + person marking forms in Huaylas Quechua are: 1<sup>st</sup> *-shaq*, 2<sup>nd</sup> *-nki*, 3<sup>rd</sup> *-nqa*, 1<sup>st</sup> plural inclusive *-shun*. In the transitions the following inflections appear: 1>2: *-shqa-yki* (*kuya-shqa-yki* 'I will love you'), 2>1: *-ma-nki* (*kuya-ma-nki* 'you will love me'), 3>1: *-ma-nqa* (*kuya-ma-nqa* 'he/she will love me'), 3>1+2 *-ma-shun* (*kuya-ma-shun* 'he/she will love us'), and 3>2 *-shunki* (*kuya-shunki* 'he/she will love you') (cf. Parker, 1976). In summary, the second person differs significantly from other persons in the future paradigm (see below).



As we can see in (14a), the person marking for first person subject and second person object in the present tense is exactly the same as in the past tense, as in (14b). In both cases, the person marking 1S > 2O appears marked by the portmanteau suffix *-q*, which is preceded by the tense suffix *-rqa* in the past tense (14b). In example (14c), the person marking in transitions is totally different than in the past and present tenses (see table 2).

In this case, the person marking 1S > 2O is marked by the fused suffix *-yki*, which is preceded by the future tense suffix *-shaqa*. In order to understand the formation of transitions in Huaylas Quechua, it is necessary to review and compare how similar marking behaves in other Quechuan languages. Consider, for example the marking of the first person subject and the second person object in Tarma Quechua, which is a central Quechuan variety, spoken in the Department of Junín.

- (15) a. *rika-q*  
           see-1S>2O  
           ‘I see you.’
- b. *rika-rqa-q*  
           see-PST-1S>2O  
           ‘I saw you.’
- c. *rika-sha-yki*  
           see-FUT-1S>2O  
           ‘I will see you.’                   (Cerrón-Palomino 2003: 275)

As we can see in (15a, b, c), the combination of the first person subject and second person object in Tarma Quechua behaves the same as in Huaylas Quechua<sup>25</sup>, which exhibits two different markers. The use of each marker depends on the tense in which it is used. The suffix *-q* is used in the present and past tenses (15a) and (15b), and *-yki* is used in the future tense (15c). The sole difference, which does not affect transitions, is that the future tense is marked by *-sha* in Tarma Quechua while it is marked by *-shaq* in Huaylas Quechua. I propose that *-sha* is a simplified form of *-shaq*, which has been simplified by deletion of the final /q/.

From the preceding examples grouped in (14) and (15), a general question rises about the original form of person marking 1S > 2O: *-q* or *-yki*. Weber (1976) assumes that *-q* was the marker of transition 1S > 2O in Proto-Quechua. However, this author does not present evidence to support his claim (cf. Torero 2002). According to Adelaar (personal communication), the original form was probably *-q*, which has been substituted by *-yki* in peripheral Quechuan languages in order to solve the confusion with the agentive suffix *-q* in the present tense. Furthermore, Adelaar assumes that the use of *-q* in Central Quechuan languages has fewer restrictions than the use of *-yki* in peripheral Quechuan languages. Thus, *-q* appears in nominalizations (*-na-q*, *-nqa-q*, etc.) and in subordinated verbs (*-pti-q*) while *-yki* does not. This favors the reconstruction of *-q* as the more original form. On the basis of these references and other studies and examples

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<sup>25</sup> In Conchucos Quechua, which is the other variety of Ancash Quechua, the person marking system behaves exactly the same as in Huaylas Quechua. The sole difference is that Conchucos Quechua has two forms for marking the past tense: the original Proto-Quechua form *-rqa*, and the simplified form *-ra*, derived from *-rqa* through the simple loss of the /q/. According to Wroughton (1988), of the two forms, *-ra* is used with greater frequency in Conchucos Quechua. Furthermore, the form *-ra* is exactly the same in Huallaga Quechua (Weber 1996). In Pacaraos Quechua which is a link in the boundary between Central Quechua and Southern Quechua in the province of Huaral, Lima, the suffix *-yki* marks the combination 1S > 2O: *aqa-shqa-yki* 'I will hit you.' (Adelaar 1987).

of other Quechuan languages analyzed below, we suggest that *-yki* is the more recent allomorph of *-q*, which was innovated during the Proto-Quechua period. (see diagram 3).

It is also important to mention Cusihuamán's (1976) analysis of *-yki* as a combination of two distinct morphemes: *-y* 'first person subject marker' and *-ki* 'second person object marker'. Following Cerrón-Palomino (1987), Mannheim (1993), Torero (2002), and Adelaar and Muysken (2004), I reject Cusihuamán's analysis, because synchronically there is no evidence for *-y* and *-ki* as distinct morphemes in the verbal paradigm. Although it is possible that diachronically *-y* and *-ki* were distinct morphemes, we have no evidence to support that conclusion. Consequently, the source remains unknown.

In order to understand how the formation of transitions in Huaylas Quechua differs from southern and northern Quechuan languages, it is necessary to review and compare person marking suffixes for the relation 1S > 2O. Consider the following examples from Cuzco Quechua (16a, b, c).

(16) a. *yanapa-yki*  
help-1S>2O  
'I help you.'

b. *yanapa-rqa-yki*  
help-PST-1S>2O  
'I helped you.'

c. *ni-sqa-yki*  
tell-FUT-1S>2O  
'I will tell you.'

(Cusihuaman 1967: 168, 169, 176)

In Cuzco Quechua, which is a variety of southern Quechua (Peripheral Quechua), spoken in southern Peru, the use of the fused suffix *-yki* for marking the combination of the first person subject and second person object is very consistent in verbal paradigms (present, past, and future tense). Moreover, we find that *-yki* is only the second person subject marker as in Ayacucho Quechua and other peripheral Quechuan languages. Finally, there are no tense-based alternations in Cuzco Quechua.

In order to show the contrast in how the first person subject and second person object work in other southern Quechuan languages, in the following section I present examples from Ayacucho Quechua, which is spoken between the Cuzco and Junín-Huanca Quechua areas.

- (17) a. *uyari-yki*  
         hear-1S>2O  
         ‘I hear you.’
- b. *uyari-rqa-yki*  
         hear-PST-1S>2O  
         ‘I heard you.’
- c. *uyari-sa-yki*  
         hear-FUT-1S>2O  
         ‘I will hear you.’                   (Soto 1993: 279)

As we can see in (17a, b, c), in contrast with Cusihuaman’s claims about *-y* and *-ki* as distinct person marking suffixes, Soto (1993) remarks that the first person subject and second person object are marked together by the single suffix *-yki*. The use of this morpheme *-yki* is very consistent, as in Cuzco Quechua; past, present, and future tenses

exhibit the same pattern. Therefore, in contrast with Huaylas Quechua, there is no tense-based alternation in either Cuzco Quechua or Ayacucho Quechua.

We have stated that *-q* originally filled the function of *-yki*. As we can see in the Table 6, the original form *-q* appears in Huaylas Quechua and other Central Quechuan languages while the innovated form *-yki* appears in different peripheral Quechuan languages. Originally, the innovated form *-yki* only appeared in future tense contexts. Then, historically, in these peripheral variants of Quechua *-yki* presumably replaced *-q* in all tenses by process of analogy.

In the case of Ecuadorian Quechua, which is a northern Quechua variety, the first person object is marked with *-wa*<sup>26</sup>, the second person object is unmarked<sup>27</sup>, and the third person object is unmarked, as is true in all Quechuan languages (S. Floyd, personal communication). In these cases, in order to resolve ambiguity in object person marking, speakers use pronouns in the nominal phrase.

(18) a. **kan-ta**      **kuya-ni**  
          you-ACC love-1S  
          ‘I love you.’

      b. **kan-ta**      **kuya-rka-ni**  
          you-ACC love-PST-1S  
          ‘I loved you.’

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<sup>26</sup> The first person object is uniformly marked with *-ma* in Central Quechuan languages, while in southern and northern Quechuan languages, it is marked uniformly with *-wa*. According to Torero (2002) and Adelaar and Muysken (2004), the original form for marking the first person object was *-wa*. It has experienced morphophonological processes in Central Quechuan languages via which it has become *wama* > *mawa* > *ma*.

<sup>27</sup> According to Simeon Floyd (personal communication), the second person object is currently unmarked in Ecuadorian Quechua.

- c. **kan-ta**      kuya-sha-**ni**  
you-ACC love-FUT-1S  
'I will love you.'

(Floyd, personal communication)

As we can see in examples (18), the first person subject is marked by the suffix *-ni* on the verb, but the second person object has no mark on the verb. The second person is expressed by the pronoun *-kan* 'you', with the accusative case marker *-ta*. This case suggests that the second person object marking on the verb has undergone change over time (Cole 1982, Adelaar and Muysken 2004).

In contrast to the Quechuan languages mentioned above, in Ferreñafe Quechua (a variety of northern Quechua spoken in northern Peru) both the first person subject and the second person object have special markers (19a). We find the same behavior in Santiago del Estero Quechua (19b), which is a variety of southern Quechua spoken in northern Argentina. In consequence, in these Quechuan languages second person marking is regular.

- (19) a. yara-**shu-ni**  
wait-2O-1S  
'I wait for you.' (Taylor 1999: 76)

- b. tapu-**su-ni**  
ask-2O-1S  
'I ask you.' (Alderetes 1994, cited in Adelaar and Muysken 2004: 221)

In examples (19a) and (19b), the first person subject and the second person object are marked separately by distinct suffixes. Adelaar and Muysken (2004) affirm that

Ferreñafe Quechua and Santiago del Estero Quechua have, to a certain extent, regularized the person marking paradigm<sup>28</sup>. As a consequence of this regularizing tendency, the suffix *-shu* became a straightforward second-person object marker in Ferreñafe. The same process has occurred in Santiago del Estero where *-su* became a straightforward second person object. The parallel reinterpretation of *-s(h)u* as the second person object marker in Ferreñafe Quechua and Santiago del Estero Quechua is not strange. It would have occurred in order to achieve regularization of the person marking system. Moreover, it is important to mention that Argentina was colonized by Spaniards accompanied by *yanacunas* (slaves in the Inca Empire). Some of them were probably from the north of Peru (Ferreñafe and neighbors). Thus, they probably influenced the regularization of second person object marking in Santiago del Estero (Adelaar, personal communication).

As we can see in examples (19a) and (19b), the first person subject has a specific marker *-ni*, just as the second person object has a singular marker *-shu* (in Ferreñafe Quechua) or *-su* (in Santiago del Estero Quechua). Both Ferreñafe Quechua and Santiago del Estero Quechua are modern peripheral Quechuan languages<sup>29</sup>. We can conclude that in these cases the person marking system has been regularized (Adelaar and Muysken 2004, Lakämper and Wunderlich 1998). We thus see that the second person object marking on the verb has undergone different developments in Huaylas Quechua from in other Quechuan languages.

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<sup>28</sup> Adelaar and Muysken (2004) mention that regularized forms of second person object marking also occur in Cajamarca and Bolivian Quechuan languages. Lakämper and Wunderlich (1998) specify that the regularized form of second person object marking occur in Potosi Quechua (Bolivia) and in some dialects of Quechua spoken in Santiago del Estero (Argentina).

<sup>29</sup> In the case of Santiago del Estero, the Quechua expansion took place after the Spanish conquest.

Based on the examples from Ancash, Tarma, Cuzco, Ayacucho, Ecuadorian, Ferreñafe, and Santiago del Estero Quechuan languages we can see that the second person object marking on the verb is a rather divergent case (except in Ferreñafe and Santiago del Estero Quechua), because it has experienced morphological and phonological changes diachronically. The following table summarizes second person object marking.

FIRST PERSON SUBJECT AND SECOND PERSON OBJECT MARKING							
Tense	Central Quechua		Peripheral Quechua				
			Southern Quechua			Northern Quechua	
	Huaylas 1S>2O	Tarma 1S>2O	Ayacucho 1S>2O	Cuzco 1S>2O	Sgo.Estero 2O-1S	Ferreñafe 2O-1S	Ecuador (2O)-1S
Past	-q	-q	-yki	-yki	-su-ni	-shu-ni	-∅-ni
Present	-q	-q	-yki	-yki	?	?	-∅-ni
Future	-yki	-yki	-yki	-yki	?	?	-∅-ni

Table 6: The relation of 1S and 2O marking

We can see in Table 6 that in Cuzco and Ayacucho Quechua, the first person subject and the second person object portmanteau is marked by the suffix *-yki* in the past, present and future tenses. In Huaylas Quechua and Tarma Quechua, as well as other central Quechuan languages, the suffix *-yki* appears only for marking the 1S > 2O relation in the future tense, as in Cuzco and Ayacucho Quechua<sup>30</sup>. However, in the past

<sup>30</sup> The portmanteau suffix *-yki* in the verbal paradigm coincides with the second person possessor in the nominal paradigm (see p. 16-18).



and present tense, the relation 1S > 2O is indicated by the portmanteau suffix *-q*. In Ecuadorian Quechua, the first person subject is marked by the suffix *-ni*, but the second person object is unmarked on the verb. This suffix divergence is due to historical changes of verbal person marking inflections in the process of the evolution of the Quechuan languages. In the following diagram, I show the morphological and phonological changes that the Quechuan languages have undergone with respect the second person object marking.

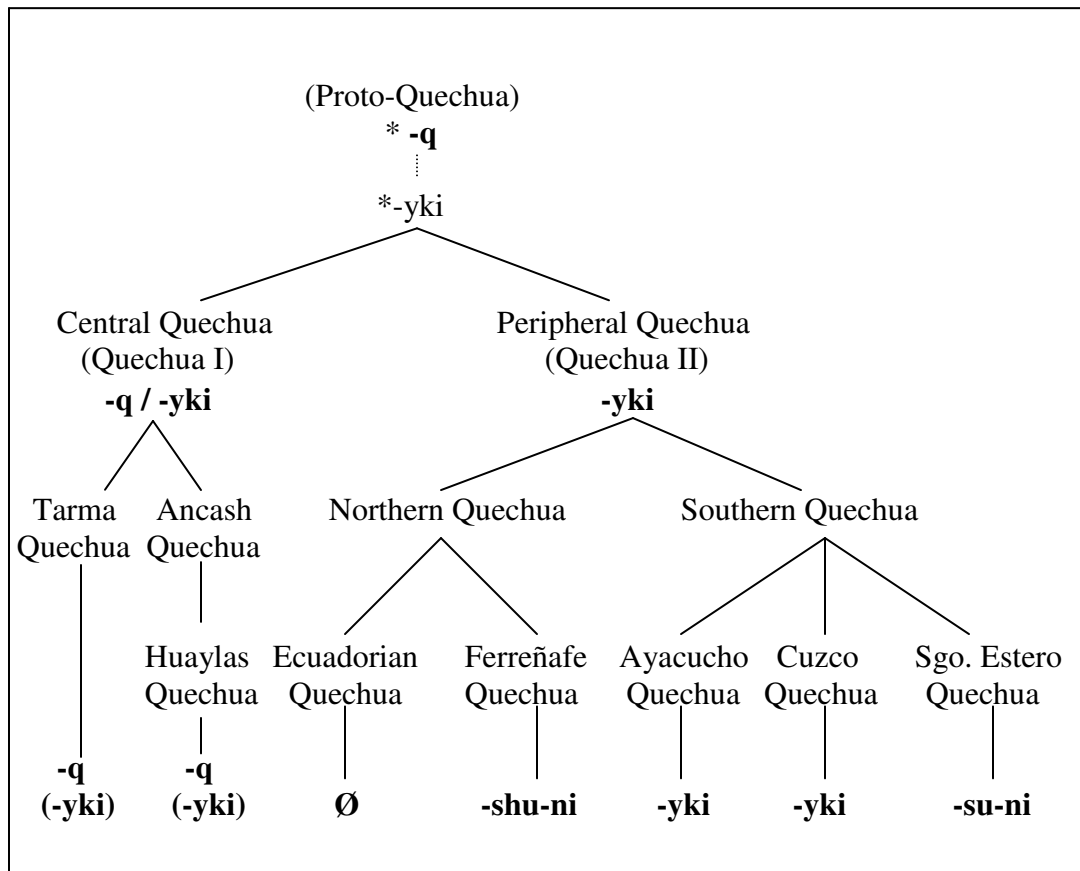


Figure 3: Isomorphism of second person marker

As we can see in the above diagram, I propose that the original portmanteau form \*  $-q$ <sup>31</sup> historically, during the Proto-Quechua period, was replaced by another portmanteau, the morpheme \* $-yki$  that also marked the relation 1S > 2O. In contrast, Torero (2002: 69-70) affirms that historically, the first, second, and third person subject and object were marked by distinct suffixes, but they were still in process of readjustment during Proto-Quechua period. This argument seems logical for pre-Proto-Quechua, but Torero does not present any evidence to support his proposal. This author assumes that person marking for the relation 1S > 2O in Proto-Quechua was \* $:-yki$  ‘1S-2O’. Thus, Torero claims that the  $:-yki$  pair fused into  $-yki$ . However, this proposal remains speculative because Torero neither presents evidence for his assumptions nor explains the motivations for the supposed historical changes of origins of  $-q$ .

According to Adelaar and Muysken (2004: 220), “the combination 1S-2O is a rather divergent case. If it exists at all at the morphological level, it is either indicated by means of the suffix  $-q$  or a reflex of it (in Central Quechua), or by  $-yki$  (in most of Peripheral Quechua). For the future tense there is a special portmanteau ending common to most dialects (\* $-šqayki$  > Ayacucho  $-s(q)ayki$ ).”. Therefore, the first person subject and second person object marking in Huaylas Quechua (and Ayacucho and Cuzco Quechua) is a divergent case. Moreover, it has experienced three main morphological changes:

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<sup>31</sup> We use the asterisk (\*) to indicate hypothetical reconstructed forms from Proto-Quechua.

First, the first person subject and second person object were originally marked by the portmanteau suffix *\*-q* (cf. Torero 2002).

Second, a new portmanteau marker was innovated for both first person subject and second person object (e.g. Ancash, Tarma, Ayacucho, and Cuzco Quechua), and it existed alongside the historically prior *-q*. In the case of Huaylas Quechua, as well as Tarma Quechua, the portmanteau 1S > 2O marker also involves two other sub-changes: 1) *-q* which is retained in the present and past tenses. 2) *-yki* which is another portmanteau suffix that appears only in the future tense. This is the more innovative form. Thus, Huaylas Quechua has two different suffixes for marking the relation 1S > 2O, a conservative form *-q* (the past and present tenses) and an innovative form *-yki* (the future tense).

Third, the extreme northern and southern Quechuan languages have undergone two different processes. In Ecuadorian Quechua, the second person object marker has been lost. In contrast, in Santiago del Estero Quechua and Ferreñafe Quechua, the second person object developed a distinct marker: *-su* and *-shu*, respectively.

#### **4.2. The case of the fused suffix *-shunki***

The third person subject and second person object are marked by the sequence *-shu... -nki*, which is unexpected given the remainder of the verbal paradigm. According to the present tense verbal paradigm shown in table 2, the suffix *-n* is the expected marker of the third person subject, and the suffix *-yki* (*-nki*) is otherwise the marker of the second person subject, not the second person object.

We begin by explaining the *-nki* allomorph of *-yki*, and then present a possible explanation for the replacement of *-yki* by *-nki*. Weber (1987: 62-75) and Hintz (2000) propose that the change of *-yki* into *-nki* was motivated by the presence and location of the tense/aspect suffix *-rqu*. Historically, the perfective suffix *-rqu* was reanalyzed as a recent past perfective suffix.<sup>32</sup> Thus, in Quechua varieties where the recent past *-rqu* coexists with the remote past *-rqa*, the presence of the innovative form of *-yki* which is *-nki*<sup>33</sup> following *-rqu* is obligatory: *maqa-ma-rqu-nki* ‘you have hit me.’ (where *maqa* is hit, *-ma* is 1O, *-rqu* is recent past, and *-nki* is 2S). In contrast, if we use the remote past suffix *-rqa*, the change of *-yki* into *-nki* does not occur: *maqa-ma-rqa-yki* ‘you hit me.’. If we use the form *\*maqa-ma-rqu-yki* or *\*maqa-ma-rqa-nki* both are ungrammatical. Thus, we state that the original form of second person was *\*-yki* and *-nki* is its innovated form.

We have mentioned that the suffix *-n* is the marker of the third person subject, and now we note that the suffix *-shu* is the marker of the second person subject. Due to that we can expect the form *-shu-n* for marking the relation 2O-3S. However, *-shunki* appears in the 3S > 2O relation, but *-shu-n* does not. I assume that diachronically *-shu* was the original marker of the 2O and *-n* was probably the original marker of the 3S, although we do not have concrete evidence for this hypothesis. However, we can hypothesize that in the combination 3S>2O, the third subject marker *-n* was historically

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<sup>32</sup> According to Weber (1987), the process of the regularization of *-rqu* experienced: (1) *-rqu* was an aspectual suffix, (2) *-rqu* was reanalyzed as a recent tense suffix, (3) *-rqu* was recolated in the tense suffix position, and (4) *-yki* changed into *-nki* when it followed *-rqu*.

<sup>33</sup> There is not phonological motivation to change of *-yki* into *-nki* after *-rqu*, it seems to me that was an idiosyncratic phonological change.

reanalyzed as *-nki*. One possibility is that *-n* was reanalyzed as *-nki* in order to resolve the ambiguity between the morpheme *-shun* ‘future tense’ (i.e. *maqa-shun* ‘we will hit him/her/them.’) and the combination *-shu-n*.

The other possibility is that the second person *-nki* was reanalyzed as both second person subject and 3S > 2O combination<sup>34</sup>. I conclude that diachronically, the combination 3S > 2O was marked by the sequence of two different single morphemes, but synchronically, the combination 3S>2O has become a circumfix morpheme with two elements *shu-* and *-nki*.

In the following, I explore the behavior of the 3S > 2O relation in examples drawn from different varieties of Quechua, examining variation in different tenses. We begin with examples from Huaylas Quechua:

- (20) a. *kuya-shunki*  
loves-3S>2O (PRS)  
‘He/she loves you.’
- b. *kuya-shu-rqa-yki*  
love-3S>2O-PST-CIRC  
‘He/she loved you.’
- c. *kuya-shunki*  
love-3S>2O (FUT)  
‘He/she will love you.’

From examples (20b) and (23b, below), in the 3S > 2O relation, we identify that *-shu* and *-yki*, where *-yki* and *-nki* are allomorphs (see below), are separable suffixes.

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<sup>34</sup> Otherwise, it is not clear how *-nki* appeared in the combination 3S > 2O.

They appear separated by the past tense marker *-rqa*, where *-shu* precedes *-rqa* and this precedes *-yki*. However, they can also appear together in present and future tenses as in (20a, c) and (23a, c)<sup>35</sup>. The future tense is zero-marked for the 3S>2O relation. The pragmatic or discourse context is very important for distinguishing between present and future tense.

To contrast with how the relation of third person subject and second person object works in other Quechuan languages, I present examples from other central Quechuan languages, such as Conchucos Quechua (21a) and Tarma Quechua (21b).

- (21) a. miku-tsi<sup>36</sup>-**shu-nki** allaapa  
           eat-CAU-3S>2O   too much  
           ‘He/she makes you eat too much.’                   (Wroughton 1982: 61)
- b. rika-**shu**<sup>37</sup>-**nki**  
           see-3S>2O  
           ‘He/she sees you.’                                       (Cerrón-Palomino 2003: 275)

In (21a) and (21b), the 3S and 2O relation is marked by the sequence of *-shu* and *-nki*, exactly as in Huaylas Quechua (20a, c). Wroughton (1982) analyzes the transition 3S > 2O as the sequence of two second person suffixes: the second person object *-shu* followed by the second person subject *-nki*. Cerrón-Palomino (1994: 105), in another

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<sup>35</sup> Adelaar (1987) claims that in Pacaraos Quechua, the object usually is indicated on the verb by combination with the subject. For this reason, there are combinations of a final suffix and a non-final suffix. In some cases, these suffixes are separated by suffixes marking tense, subordinator, or nominalizer.

<sup>36</sup> It is important to notice that in Huaylas Quechua, the causative *-tsi* can be added not only to intransitive verbs, but also to transitive verbs. As is obvious, when an intransitive verb takes the causative marker *-tsi*, it becomes transitive. A transitive verb with a causative marker works exactly the same as a normal transitive verb in many cases. However, in other cases, those kinds of constructions can derive ditransitive verbs. The use of causatives does not affect transition patterns.

<sup>37</sup> Cerrón-Palomino uses phonemic transcription /ʃ/ for the grapheme <sh>. Thus, *rikashunki* appears as *rikaʃunki*.

comparative study on Quechua and Aymara, affirms that the same suffix *-nki* marks the second person subject in some Quechuan languages, and the third person subject in others<sup>38</sup> (cf. table 2). In the latter case, second person object is marked by *-shu*. Thus, Wroughton and Cerrón-Palomino claim that *-shunki*<sup>39</sup> is a sequence of two amalgamated suffixes *-shu* and *-nki*. In contrast, as in the examples (20) and (21), we state that synchronically *-shu...nki* is a circumfix suffix which has two separable elements *shu* and *nki*. Our example (20b) confirms our conclusion, because it shows the case in which *-shu* and *-yki* (allomorph of *-nki*) are separated by the inclusion of the past tense marker *-rqa* between them.

For contrasting how the 3S > 2O relation works in peripheral Quechuan varieties, I present examples from Cuzco Quechua.

(22) a. yanapa-**sunki**

help-3S>2O (PRS)

‘He/she helps you.’

b. yanapa-rqa-**sunki**

help-PST-3S>2O

‘He/she helped you.’

c. yanapa-**sunki**<sup>40</sup>

help-3S>2O (FUT)

‘He/she will help you.’ (Cusihuaman 1967: 168, 169, 176)

<sup>38</sup> “El mismo sufijo *-nki* marca, en un caso, a la 2a. Persona sujeto, y en otro, a la 3a. Persona sujeto”.

<sup>39</sup> Lakämper and Wunderlich (1998: 134) assume that *-sunki* is a single fused morpheme in all instances in Cuzco Quechua. In contrast, in Ayacucho Quechua, *-su* exists as a separate object affix.

<sup>40</sup> In Huaylas Quechua, the future tense pattern is very irregular. In the relation 1S>2O it is marked by *-shqa* as in (13a), but in other cases it is unmarked as in (18c).

As we can see in the examples grouped in (22), the third person subject and second person object relation is similar to the corresponding forms in Huaylas Quechua in present and future tenses. However, it is important to notice that in Cuzco Quechua, in contrast with Huaylas Quechua, the 3S > 2O is marked by the single inseparable suffix *-sunki* in all tenses. The past tense suffix *-rqa* in Cuzco Quechua appears immediately after the verbal root, whereas in Huaylas Quechua it divides *-shunki* into two parts: *-shu* and *-nki*.

In Ayacucho Quechua, the third person subject and second person object relation behaves in the same way as in Huaylas Quechua, as in (23a-c).

(23) a. **uyari-sunki**

hear-3S>2O (PRS)

‘He/she hears you.’

b. **uyari-su-rqa-nki**

hear-3S>2O-PST-CIRC

‘He/she heard you.’

c. **uyari-sunki**

hear-3S>2O (FUT)

‘He/she will hear you.’ (Soto 1993: 279)

In Ayacucho Quechua, the relation between third person subject and second person object is marked by the separable circumfix morpheme *-su...nki*, as in Huaylas Quechua. The single difference is the form of the first element of the fused suffix *-sunki*. While in Huaylas Quechua it is *-shu*, in Ayacucho Quechua it is *-su*, the same as in Cuzco



Quechua. We have proposed that *\*-shu* was the original form of the second person object, and observed it appears in all most conservative Quechuan languages (Central Quechua). The form *-shu* subsequently became *-su* in the peripheral Quechuan languages (i.e. the more innovative varieties). I argue that through the depalatalization process of /š/ > /s/<sup>41</sup>, the original form *\*-shu* become *-su* in peripheral Quechuan languages, such as Cuzco and Ayacucho Quechua. Therefore, Huaylas Quechua retains the original form *-shu*, while Cuzco and Ayacucho Quechua exhibit the innovated form *-su*.

In the case of some varieties of Ecuadorian Quechua, according to Cole (1982) and Floyd (personal communication), the second person object has been lost, so it is now unmarked. In Ecuadorian Quechua speakers indicate third subject and second person object through inflectional verbal marking for the subject, and through a free pronominal form for the object.

Based on the examples grouped in (20) - (23) I conclude that third person subject and second person object marking is a rather irregular case in Huaylas Quechua in comparison to Central and Southern Quechuan languages. Although the 3S > 2O relation is similar in Huaylas Quechua, Conchucos Quechua, Tarma Quechua, Ayacucho Quechua, and Cuzco Quechua, there are two basic differences. While Huaylas Quechua, as well as Conchucos Quechua and Tarma Quechua, express the first element of the 3S > 2O marking as *-shu*, Ayacucho and Cuzco Quechua have *-su*. This means that Huaylas Quechua is the more conservative than peripheral Quechuan varieties where /š/ has

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<sup>41</sup> In Quechua, the phoneme /š/ shows the following stages of change: š > s > x > ø (šhuk > suk > xuk > uk 'one').

changed to /s/ elsewhere. Likewise, while the past tense marker *-rqa* is located between the verbal root and the person marking suffixes in Cuzco Quechua, it occurs between the object marker suffix and the subject marker suffix in Ancash and Ayacucho Quechua. In addition, those languages do not exhibit a tense-conditioned allomorph for those markers, unlike Huaylas<sup>42</sup>, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Ferreñafe, and Ecuadorian Quechuan languages. Quechua speakers distinguish between present and future temporal reference via communicational context.

Given these facts, I conclude that the 3S > 2O combination was diachronically marked by two distinct suffixes, each one with separate meanings. Synchronically, the combination 3S > 2O is a single morpheme that is a circumfix *-shu...nki*, which has two parts, *shu* and *nki* in some Quechuan languages. (both elements together indicates the relation 3S > 2O), but in other languages (e.g. Cuzco Quechua), *-shunki* appears as an inseparable single fused suffix. This claim is supported by Quechua speakers who consider *-shunki* as a single piece that indicates the transition 3S > 2O. Additionally, since the third person is the lowest on the hierarchy of person and therefore can never be marked in objects (see diagram 2), then in Huaylas Quechua *-shu* refers to second person object (Lakämper and Wunderlich 1998).

Cerrón-Palomino (1994) claims that in the transition 3S > 2O, *-shu* marks second person object, and *-nki* marks the third person subject. This would suggest that *-yki* (the historically prior form of *-nki*) would mark the first person subject in the relation first person subject acting on the second person object (see section 4.1). However, the verbal

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<sup>42</sup> The future tense in Huaylas Quechua behaves similarly as in Conchucos Quechua and Tarma Quechua.

paradigm of Quechua shows a specific marker for each grammatical person (*-ni* or *-ni* first person, *-nki* / *-yki* second person, and *-n* third person). Consequently, I conclude that the preceding proposal fails, since it contradicts the Quechua verbal paradigm. Thus, I assume that the form *-shu..nki* (*shu* + *nki*) is a single circumfix morpheme, which indicates the relation of third person subject acting on the second person object. Then by adding the suffix *-nki* to the second person object suffix *-shu*, both together indicate the transition 3S > 2O.

It is important to continue analyzing the nature and development of the suffix *-nki*. In the nominal paradigm, the second person possessor is marked by *-yki* in all Quechuan languages (Cerrón-Palomino 1987, 2003; Torero 2002). In the verbal paradigm, the second person subject is marked by *-nki* in Peripheral Quechuan languages, such as the Ecuadorian, Ayacucho and Cuzco Quechuan varieties. In Huaylas, Conchucos, and Tarma Quechuan varieties, the second person subject has two markers: *-yki* (in the past tense) and *-nki* (in the present and future tenses). The form *-nki* is similar in Central and Peripheral Quechuan languages analyzed in this paper. However, there is an exception in Huaylas Quechua and other central Quechuan languages: the form *-yki* is used in the past tense<sup>43</sup>. Moreover, this verbal form of second person subject *-yki* coincides with the marker of second person possessor in nominal paradigm. In addition, Solís (1976) reports that the use of single form *-yki* is widely generalized in the Quechua variety spoken in

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<sup>43</sup> The use of the form *-yki* in the past tense includes Ferreñafe Quechua (Cerrón-Palomino 2003).

the province of Bolognesi, Ancash.<sup>44</sup> The sole exception is the verb *ni-* ‘say’ for which the form *-nki* is used (Solís, personal communication). Likewise, Cerrón-Palomino (2003: 144) reports that the use of the second person marker *-yki*, in both verbal and nominal paradigms, is very consistent in Cajatambo Quechua, a variety spoken in the north of Lima, adjacent to Ancash.<sup>45</sup> Both Bolognesi Quechua and Cajatambo Quechua have been considered as more conservative varieties, since they still retain some original elements of Proto-Quechua like *\*-yki*. This is also good evidence for concluding that *-nki* is the more recent form of *-yki*.

Based on the evidence presented above, I conclude that the suffix *-yki* is the original form of the second person, and that *-nki* is the innovated form (Cerrón-Palomino 2003, Wroughton 1988, Weber 1987, and Adelaar (personal communication)). This conclusion further supports the claim that Huaylas Quechua is relatively conservative, like the other Central Quechuan varieties, while the peripheral varieties are more innovative.

In the following diagram, I summarize the morphological changes that the Quechuan languages have undergone in the second person subject marker.

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<sup>44</sup> Although Bolognesi Quechua is spoken in the south part of Ancash region, it has been classified within Alto Pativilca-Alto Marañón – Alto Huallaga Quechua because it shares more characteristics with this variety than with Huaylas and Conchucos varieties of Ancash Quechua.

<sup>45</sup> Cajatambo is very close to the area where Proto-Quechua was originated (Torero 2002, Cerrón-Palomino 2003, 1987)

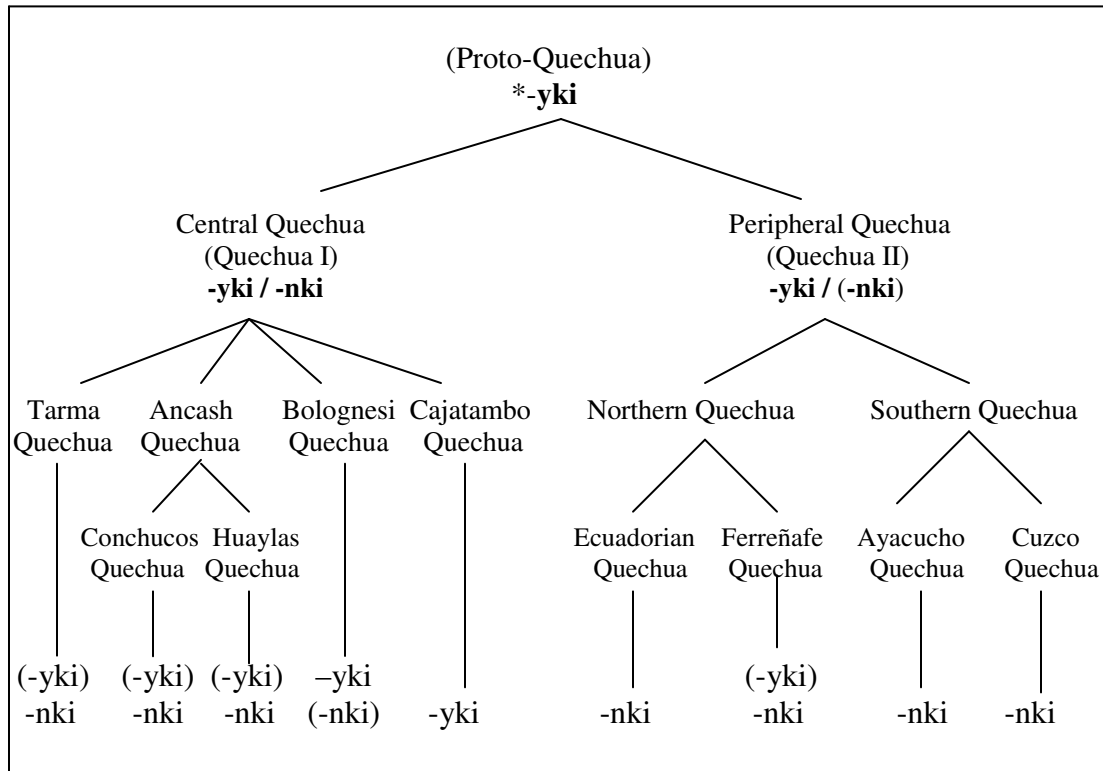


Figure 4: The second person subject marker

In summary, in Proto-Quechua, the form of second person object was *\*-shu* and the second person subject was *\*-yki*. The suffix *-shu* has become *-su* in Peripheral Quechuan languages, except in Ecuadorian Quechua. Similarly, the form *-yki* has become *-nki* in all Peripheral Quechuan languages, while the original form *-yki* is maintained in the past tense in the Central Quechuan languages, although it has also become *-nki* in the present and future tenses, except in Cajatambo Quechua and Bolognesi Quechua (if we leave out the verb *niiy* ‘to see’), the most conservative Quechuan varieties.

I conclude this section by asserting that historically *-shunki* was segmented into two distinct morphemes for marking separately 3S and 2O. Synchronically, *-shunki* is

considered as a single suffix which in some languages appears as a circumfix morpheme *–shu...nk*, but in others as an inseparable single fused suffix. In the past tense, this separation is retained in Huaylas, Conchucos, Tarma, and Ayacucho Quechua (the more conservative languages), while in Cuzco Quechua (the more innovative language)–*sunki* appears as an inseparable single fused suffix in all cases. This resulting combination refers to a third person subject acting on a second person object. (cf. Adelaar and Muysken, 2004; Lakämper and Wunderlich, 1998).

## 5. General conclusions

In this paper, I first of all contextualized the Quechuan language family, including Huaylas Quechua, from sociolinguistic and linguistic perspectives. Second, I presented the Huaylas Quechua person marking system, which exhibits both regular and irregular inflectional patterns. Other Quechuan languages exhibit different patterns. Third, I analyzed the irregularities of the patterns in the relation 1S>2O and 3S>2O in Huaylas Quechua, as observed that this asymmetry in person marking system is associated with the person hierarchy, which is  $1 > 2 > 3$ , and is a result of historical stages of development of this language.

The person marking system in Huaylas Quechua as well, as in other Quechuan languages, can be characterized in terms of developmental stages. The most conservative system is represented by Huaylas Quechua and the most recent development by the Ferreñafe and Santiago de Estero Quechuan varieties. Ayacucho and Cuzco Quechua take medial position between the most conservative varieties and the most innovative varieties. The divergent second person object markings in Huaylas Quechua are a consequence of the diachronic development of the person marking system.

Finally, I conclude by mentioning the significance of this paper. Firstly, although there exists abundant research on the Quechua language, through this paper we have verified that the diachronic study of Quechua is not yet sufficient. Secondly, the majority of people and some researchers recognize Quechua as a single language. This paper

shows considerable phonological and morphological differences among Quechuan varieties. Then, the variation in Quechua is not only in sounds and lexical items, but also in the grammatical system of the language itself. Thirdly, there is an effect of language contact within the Quechuan language family. From the case of contact between Ferreñafe Quechua and Santiago del Estero Quechua we assert that language contact operates not only between languages of different families, but also within the Quechuan language family. Fourthly, projects of language maintenance and revitalization such as bilingual education need to consider and incorporate the considerable variation of Quechuan languages by elaborating school materials. Finally, this paper constitutes a preliminary study of the verbal morphology in Huaylas Quechua, and it is well suited as a basis for future empirical work in terms of its results from comparative analysis.



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